

Message Text

SECRET

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AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
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S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 2020

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: PDEV, RH, US, UK
SUBJECT: SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS: SPECULATION ON A "BEST
POSSIBLE" CASE

1. IN TRYING TO DEAL WITH SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS DURING THE PAST
SEVERAL MONTHS, WE HAVE OFTEN FOUND OURSELVES HAVING TO THINK ABOUT
"WORST POSSIBLE" CASES. I SUSPECT THIS MAY CONTINUE TO BE SO, BUT
THERE WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE UTILITY IN TRYING TO FOCUS ON A "BEST
POSSIBLE" APPROACH, IF WE COULD SOMEHOW DEFINE AN AT LEAST
POSSIBLY PRACTICAL ONE.

2. BISHOP MUZOREWA'S CONTINUING DEFINACE OF THE SALISBURY EXECUTIVE
COUNCIL'S APPARENT EFFORTS TO BLOCK FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN RHODESIA
COULD BE THE STARTING POINT OF ONE "BEST POSSIBLE" CASE. IN

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LIMNING IT OUT BELOW, I HAVE TRIED TO STAY WITHIN THE RANGE OF THE
SPECULATIVE AND TO STOP SHORT OF PURE FANTASY. I AM NOT SURE I
HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL. IN ANY EVENT, THE SUGGESTED SCENARIO IS
HARDLY LIKELY TO STAND INTACT ON ITS OWN MERITS. HOWEVER, IT MIGHT
BE USEFUL IN CONTRIBUTING TO ANOTHER ONE THAT WILL.

3. SUPPOSE WE:

A. CONSULT WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA (MUZOREWA'S PRINCIPAL DETRACTOR IN THE PAST) DURING HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON ON WHETHER OR NOT THE BISHOP'S EFFORTS IN SALISBURY MAY NOT IN FACT ENTITLE HIM TO A RESPECTABLE AND INFLUENTIAL ROLE IN A TRUE AND INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. IF KAUNDA THOUGHT SO, THEN,

B. IN ORDER TO INHIBIT A REVERSION TO DOCILITY OF THE KIND TO WHICH MUZOREWA IS PRONE, WE OR THE BRITISH MIGHT GET A PRIVATE MESSAGE TO THE BISHOP, ENCOURAGING HIM TO CONTINUE TO STAND UP FOR BLACK RIGHTS AND SUGGESTING RECOGNITION FOR SO DOING. THIS COULD BE FOLLOWED BY:

C. A PUBLIC STATEMENT FROM THE FRONT LINE (NYERERE, MACHEL, AND KHAMA WOULD PRESUMABLY GO ALONG IF KAUNDA WOULD) TO THE EFFECT THAT, WHILE AFRICA WILL NEVER APPROVE SMITH'S SALISBURY AGREEMENT, IT DOES RECOGNIZE MUZOREWA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT, HIS CURRENT EFFORTS TO DEFEND MAJORITY RIGHTS, AND, BECAUSE OF THESE, HIS POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. (WHETHER OR NOT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD STAND STILL FOR THIS IS, ADMITTEDLY, DOUBTFUL.) BUT, ANYWAY,

D. WE AND THE BRITISH COULD THEN ISSUE A NEW, URGENT, CALL FOR AN ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE. THE CALL MIGHT IMPLICITLY GIVE A NEW NOTE OF RECOGNITION TO MUZOREWA, LOOKING TOWARD SOME KIND OF 2
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(MUGABE), 2 (NKOMO), 2 (MUZOREWA), AND 2 (SMITH AND HIS COLLABORATORS) ARRANGEMENT, WITH THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER HAVING THE 1 (SWING) SHARE OF ANY GOVERNING COUNCIL. IF WE DID NOT GET AGREEMENT ON OR AT THE CONFERENCE,

E. WE COULD STILL INSIST (AS IN NAMIBIA) ON PUTTING OUR PROPOSALS BEFORE THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL.

F. WE WOULD SIMULTANEOUSLY TURN TO VORSTER TO SAY STRONGLY THAT SOUTH AFRICA (1) HAS ALREADY ACCEPTED THE NAMIBIA PLAN (WE SHOULD BE READY FOR THE FINAL ROUND WITH NUJOMA ABOUT THIS TIME IN THE PROCEEDINGS ANYWAY AND COUPLING RHODESIA WITH NAMIBIA MIGHT SWEEP HIM ALONG), AND (2) NOW HAS A CHANCE TO GET FULLY BEHIND AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION FOR RHODESIA AS WELL. SHOULD IT DO SO, WE CANNOT CEASE TO OPPOSE ITS APARTHEID POLICY, BUT WE WILL RECOGNIZE ITS CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND WILL TRY TO SEE THAT THIS IS REFLECTED IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. WE BELIEVE A NUMBER OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES WOULD DO LIKEWISE, AND PRETORIA WILL HAVE AT LEAST FOR A FEW YEARS A CHANCE TO SORT OUT ITS FUTURE OUTSIDE THE LAAGER.

4. COMMENT: REMEMBER THE LAST TWO SENTENCES OF PARA 2 ABOVE.

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